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D I G N I T Y
O F T H E 1485 t 42
S c o t t i s h P e e r a g e
V I N D I C A T E D.

Scotland - Nobility
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*Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis :
Est in juvencis, est in equis patrum
Virtus : nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquila columban.*

H O R A T.



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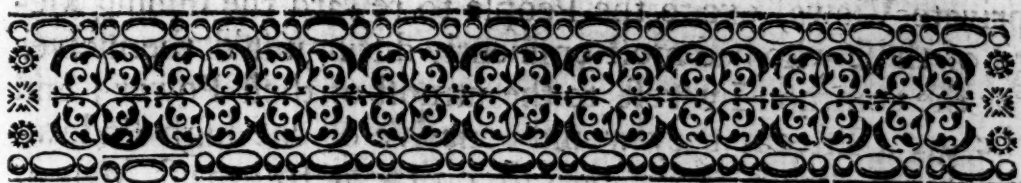
OF THE

MINISTRY



NOTA

EDITION, 1911



T H E

D I G N I T Y

O F T H E

Scottish Peerage

V I N D I C A T E D.

DISTINCTION of Superiority seems not so much necessary by the Rules of Society, as from the different Capacities of Mankind: For what Number of Men, supposed to be naturally free, and severally independent one of another, that should consent to unite themselves in Society for their common Defence and Protection, would be so fond of this Equality, as to commit the Direction of their publick Affairs to every single one or more, indifferently by Turns, without Regard to their Qualifications for such Trust? Would not the first pressing Occasion to exert themselves against a Foreign Enemy

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discover

discover the Absurdity of this Parity; and that Gratitude, that is naturally inherent in every Man, whilst unbyass'd by private Views, excite the People to reward the shining Merit of those who had most eminently distinguish'd themselves for the common Interest to the utmost of their Power; and the great Esteem they would conceive of the high Endowments of such Heroes, prevail on them to intrust Men of such transcendent Worth with the supreme Direction and Management of their Affairs; while those of inferior and ordinary Capacities (who make up the Bulk of every Nation) would be satisfied with their own low Condition, and think themselves happy enough to enjoy their Liberties under such Protection. And as People directed by their Affections are generally extravagant in their Resentments of Favours, as well as of Injuries, they may often think their Benefactors not sufficiently rewarded, unless they perpetuate these Dignities and high Trusts likewise to their Posterity. This may not unreasonably be supposed to have been the original Condition of some Governments; seeing many free States of *Italy*, since the Break of the *Roman* Empire, have so behaved themselves on such Occasions. And as the Management of the Publick Affairs of every Society, however inconsiderable, requires a considerable Number of Persons besides the Supreme Magistrate, we find in every State, ancient or modern, whether its Constitution be Monarchical, or popular, a certain Number of Persons, eminently dignified, and distinguished from their Fellow Subjects, who in Subordination to the sovereign Power have exercised a Kind of Authority over a certain Number of the Subjects. These, according to the modern Appellation, are distinguished under the Denomination of Nobility, and are in most States hereditary: But the Manner of acquiring this elevated Dignity differs,
almost



almost in every Government. In these Constitutions which are supposed to be founded upon the *patria potestas*, where (as some will have it) the Prince has a natural Right to the Dominion of his Subjects, the Nobility are generally the Chiefs amongst the several Tribes, whose Dignity depends not on the Favour of the Prince, but (like his own Right to the Sovereignty) is derived by lineal Succession from the first Father and Founder of the Family. The Nobles of *Israel* appear to have been of this Kind, tho their Monarchy was plainly a *Theocracy*: As we see *Moses*, the several Judges, *Saul* and *David* took on them the Government by the especial Direction of Heaven sufficiently verified; and the Right of the Posterity of *David* to the Sovereignty was founded on the Promise: Yet the Nobles, or Elders, as they are often called, seem to have been hereditary, and not to have derived their Dignity from the Favour of the Prince; but were much respected both by the Sovereign and People, and often admitted to a Share of the Legislature. When *Moses* eased himself of the great Weight of the Government, it was devolved upon fit Men taken from amongst the Elders; and in Absence of the Regal Power, we find *Ezra* acted in Concert with them.

IN the Eastern Monarchies, however absolute they appear to have been, yet the seven Princes of *Media* and *Persia* seem to have been vested with great Powers, and to have made up a Part of the Legislature; for the wise Men, the King's Council, only advised, but Laws were concerted by the Consent of the King and Princes, and thereafter recorded among the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, whereby, according to their Constitution, they became irreversible by the Sovereign. In *Sparta* the Power of the Nobility was yet greater; for tho the Monarchy was hereditary, yet its Power extended no farther than to the Command of their Fleets and Armies,

mies, and was accountable to the *Ephori* for its Conduct. Even in popular States we find the Power of the Nobility to have been very great. But where there is no Monarchy to protect the Nobility and People from their mutual Encroachments upon one another, it never fails to have bad Effects: As we see in *Florence*, which State, before it fell into the Hands of the *Medici*, was intirely popular. How often was its Tranquillity disturbed by the Jealousies the Nobility and People conceived of one another? And how many destructive Revolutions did it occasion? Likewise in *Rome*, which, after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, seems to have been an *Aristocracy*, yet the People being employed in the Wars grew sensible of their own Power, and tho they were (to please them) by their Tribunes admitted to a share of the Government representatively, yet their Jealousies of the Nobility still increased, and were at last the Occasion of the intire Loss of the Privileges of the one, as well as the Liberty of the other. 'Tis observable in the Eastern Empire, that after *Cyrus* overturned the Civil Constitution, and establish'd a Tyranny supported by a military Power, he destroyed the Nobility who had been in a Manner Guardians of the People's Liberties, and served as Checks upon the Regal Power, and in their Place appointed Lieutenants of Provinces, and Governors of Towns and Castles, severally independent one of another, whom he continued or removed as he pleas'd. The same may be observed in all Tyrannies where the People have not the least Shadow of Liberty, but every Thing is managed at the Discretion of a Prince governing by a military Power, as in *Turky*, *Persia*, *Mogul*, *Fez*, &c. in all which Empires there are no hereditary Dignities, nor any Subject vested with any Power longer than the Sovereign inclines to trust him. Whence it may be observed, that as hereditary Dignities can only subsist in a free State,

State, the Design of such elevated Stations has been originally to check the Extravagance of Regal Power, in case of a weak or wicked Administration. And on the other Hand, should the People be so far blind to their Duty, as to allow their Nobles to abuse their high Trust, they as certainly meet with the same Hardships and the same Loss of Liberty under an Aristocracy; as may be noticed at this Day in *Poland* and *Venice*, where the Power of the Nobility is so exorbitant, and the People so much oppressed, that by Habit so long deprived of Means and Capacity to recover their Liberty, they seem to be quite dispirited, and to have lost the Sense of it: Tho' in *Venice* the Nobles are still so jealous of the Subjects, that they dare not trust them with Arms on any Account, but manage their Wars by foreign Mercenaries. Whence this Opinion of a very sagacious States-man seems well founded, That a mixt Government is the best, because the several Parts of such a Constitution, serving as Checks upon one another, it becomes thereby less liable to Corruption, and the People's Privileges more secure from the Encroachments of their Superiors. Monarchy, from the Conduct of several States, seems the most necessary Part. Tho' *Rome* hated the Name, yet it appears to have been highly sensible of this Defect from the Creation of their Dictators, who were vested with Powers superiour to any King, where the Government is not altogether military. And it might be made appear demonstratively, that the want of a single Person vested with sovereign Authority, whose Right to exercise such a Power should be unquestionable, occasioned the Ruin of that State, and made Way for the Ambition of its Generals, to assume a Power by Force, which they could never propose to obtain by Consent, and instead of a civil to establish a military Government.

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THUS, from what has been observed, PEERAGE appears to have been the earliest and most usefull Part of civil Government. I shall now therefore take a short View of the *Scots* Constitution, its *Peerage* and present Peers, the Difference betwixt the ancient and modern Ways of attaining that Dignity; whereby the Merit of those few Families who arrived at that elevated Pitch of Honour, before it was abused, while the only Access to it was by the rugged and difficult Paths of Vertue, will appear in the clearer Light, compared with those who may have attained it by other Means.

THE *Scots* Nation must be allowed to be, at this Day, the most inconsiderable State in *Europe*; but in regard it hath preserved its Freedom and Independency so much longer than any other, it is in that Respect not unjustly to be preferred. The Peerage or Nobility were the earliest Part of its Constitution; for, if we may credit their ancient History, this Colony of *Scots* inhabiting *Britain*, lived for many Ages in *Albion* without other Form of Government than the several Clans, or increased Families, under the Dominion of their own respective Chiefs. And after *Fergus* the Son of *Ferqubard* was vested with sovereign Authority and absolute Dominion over the whole Nation: Yet this Power of the Chiefs was inseparable from them, as being neither acquired from, nor, in any Respect, depending upon the Favour of the Prince; but, as before observed, descended to the lineal Heir by Right of Succession from the first Father of the Family, who being all originally descended from the same Person, are Vassals not of Force or Constraint, but of Choice and Affection. These were the ancient Nobility; but whether they made up a Part of the Legislature, is what cannot be so positively determined, because the ancient Part of the *Scots* History being founded on verbal Tradition, gives us only the Account of Facts in the general, without entring into a Detail of Circumstances.

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cumstances. They tell us such and such Laws were made by such Kings, without taking further Notice whether these Laws were concerted by the Advice or Consent of the Nobles. But as to Affairs of Moment, where the common Safety was concerned to defend the Country from foreign Invasion; in such Cases the Consent of the Nobility was absolutely necessary, because, as before observed, the Power of the People was naturally vested in the several Chiefs: Which is further obvious from several Passages of the *Scots* History, particularly in the Reign of *Kenneth* II. That Prince claimed the *Pictish* Monarchy in Right of his Grand-mother; and tho' that Nation disputed not his Right to their Crown, yet jealous, least their Country, by his Accession to the Government, should become an Appanage of *Scotland*, they resolved to obstruct his Settlement by Force, and elected a King to defend their Liberties and Independency. *Kenneth* hereupon calling a general Convention of his Nobility, endeavoured to convince them of the great Advantages they would reap by the Acquest of such a Dominion; that tho' they had chosen a King to oppose him, yet they were so weakned by Division, and his own Party amongst them so considerable, that they would find the Conquest of them easy; and doing it in that Manner would render them absolute and uncontrollable Masters of the whole half of the Island. Tho' these Sentiments were just, as appeared by the Event, yet the Nobility, thinking it an Affair of greater Difficulty, and that it was rather the King's personal Quarrel, than any real Interest of the Country, absolutely refused. Which obliged this sagacious Prince to have Recourse to an Artifice that prevailed on them to prosecute the War with as much Eagerness as he could desire, which terminated in the Extirpation of the *Pictish* Government. From this the Power of the ancient Nobility may be easily judged of: But we do not find they were dignified with

any Titles of Honour derived from the Prince. But as Time began to discover the Inconveniencies of their loose Manner of living in common, the Sovereign, to prevent the Disorders necessarily attending such a Way of Life, assigned to every Clan a certain Extent of Property in Proportion to its Numbers; and divided the Country into several Provinces, and committed the Government of them to such of the Chiefs as he conceived were best qualified for so great a Trust. The Execution of Laws and Administration of Justice was committed to these Lieutenants; and besides the Authority they were vested with from the Prince, none were otherwise recommended to this high Office than by their distinguishing Worth, and great Interest they had formerly had within the Province. The Reputation of these Governours (who were distinguished by the Name of *THANES*) was very great, and their Power within their respective Districts uncontrollable. But 'tis more than probable that these *Thanes* thus eminently distinguish'd from the rest of the Nobility were only for Life, or during the Prince's Pleasure, and descended on no other Account to their Posterity than by the same high Qualities that had recommended themselves to that elevated Office. This is pretty evident from the Conduct of *K. Malcolm Canmore*. That Prince out of a gratefull Sense of the Service of those *Thanes*, who, notwithstanding their Submission to the Usurpation of *Mackbeth*, no sooner heard of the Arrival of their natural Prince with a handfull of a regular Army to protect them, than they deserted the Tyrant, and with all their Power assisted the King to rescue their Liberty from Oppression. These he dignified with the Title of *EARL*, whereby their former Power and Authority became hereditary. If it had been so before, this would have been no Compliment; for we do not find that the *Scots* were formerly fond of empty Titles, as we see when the Name of *Duke*

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was first introduced amongst us, it was offered to the Earl of *Douglas*; but he generously dispised it as new, and refused to accept of a Name that added neither to the Power nor Reputation of his Family. So that this high Degree of Nobility vested with so much hereditary Power derived from the Crown, had its Rise in this Reign. And tho' the Power of the former Nobles (the Chiefs) was not hereby lessened, yet such of them as were planted in those Earldoms, thereby in a great Measure lost their Independency, as becoming Vassals to the Earls: But these, who by their Situation were free from this Inconveniency, and depended immediately upon the Crown, underwent no Alteration; and in Proportion to their hereditary Power and personal Worth, were as much regarded as the Earls, and often promiscuously rank'd with them. The Six Ransomers for King *William* were half Earls, half Gentlemen, or rather Nobles of the second Degree; and the Nobility, as they are called in the general, who in the Reign of *Robert Bruce*, addressed the Pope in Name of, and (as before observed) as representing the whole *Scots* Nation, signifying their steady Resolution to maintain their Independency, and that it was in vain for the King of *England*, or any other, to propose to conquer a People so firmly resolved not to outlive Liberty. These Chiefs (I say) both Earls and Gentlemen are all ranged under the general Denomination of Nobles, and not according to the modern Way, We *the Nobility, Barons, &c.* Nor were the Numbers of the Nobility ever justly ascertained before the Reign of *James I.* For before Parliaments were introduced, our National Assemblies were only on Occasion of War, when they were called in this Manner; The King by general Summons or Proclamation appointed all the Chiefs with their Vassals and Followers to attend him at a certain Day. And our Wars, since the Expulsion of the *Danes*, being generally with *Eng-*
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land, and requiring Expedition, the northern Chiefs were seldom present at these Meetings, as not being able to reach the Place appointed within the Days assigned. But after the Settlement of *Robert Bruce*, the Face of Affairs in *Scotland* was much changed. He called the first National Assembly, to deliberate upon proper Measures for resettling the Peace of the Country upon solid Foundations: But in the succeeding Reigns Parliaments grew more frequent, and according to the Concession of *Bruce*, every Free-holder, or Chief who held of the Crown, tho' never so inconsiderable, was admitted as a Member. *James I.* perceiving the Inconveniency of this, that the expensive Attendance of these small Barons was what their Circumstances could not well allow of; and on the other Hand, that they were an Eye-sore to the great and powerfull Barons, who disdained to see those inconsiderable Families, who had so little Power or Capacity to be of Use to their Country, and yet admitted to a share of the Legislature promiscuously with them, redressed this, not by distinguishing them into two Houses, but by reducing their Number thus. He dignified those powerful Chiefs with the Title of Lord, whereby they were vested with much the same Power over their respective Vassals that the Earls were, and ranked with them as Nobility, while the small Barons were regarded as Commoners, and appointed to represent themselves by one or two from every Shire according to its Bigness, elected by free Voices. But the Highland Chiefs who are a warlike People, and better qualified to serve their Country in Time of War, than to concert Laws and Rules of Life for regulating Society in Time of Peace, never appeared at any Assemblies where the Interest of their Country required not their immediate Assistance to defend their Privileges from foreign Invasion or intestine Commotions. This is probably the Reason why they were not by *James I.* ranked amongst

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amongst the Nobility, since their Power much exceeded many of those then dignified.

BUT as the Power of these ancient Nobility was great, so was their Number small; and, as *Sallust* complaining of the Corruption of *Rome*, that had been so profuse of its Favours to *C. Marius*, says, *That so great was the Consular Dignity that the Merit of one Life could never lay claim to it; but till that Time, had ever been conferred on the Nobility, whose Ancestors had for many Generations eminently distinguish'd themselves for their Countries Interest.* These were lookt on as fit Objects to be intrusted as Guardians of their Country's Liberty, which an ambitious Man raised from nothing was under no such Ties to protect: For such a one ashamed of his Origine, and setting no Bounds to his Ambition, if he succeeds, will certainly imploy these Arms his Country may intrust him with for its Defence, to reduce it to Slavery and an absolute Obedience to his own arbitrary Commands, as we see it happened to *Britain* under *Cromwel*.

So likewise amongst the *Scots*, so great was their Regard for this elevated Dignity of Peerage, that none were admitted to it, who (besides the great Power and Numbers of their Vassals) were not also recommended by a Succession of Merit, whose Ancestors for several Generations, as well as themselves, had disinterestedly risked their Lives for the common Interest. This is observable from the Conduct of King *Robert Bruce*: For from the Death of *Alexander III.* to his Settlement, the *Scots* were miserably oppressed. Several of the Earls, who had been for many peaceful Ages wallowing in Luxury and Ease, quite lost their Virtue, and fearing the superior Power of *England*, basely deserted their Country's Interest, and submitted to a foreign Yoke; but the Gentry or lower Rank of Nobility had so lively

lively a Sense of Liberty, and so much valued those Privileges their Forefathers had at the Expence of so much Blood handed down to them, that no Toil or Hazard could prevail on them to give them up. Tho they had a Nation more powerful than their own to encounter, and aided by many of their own Nobility, who were well acquainted with their Circumstances; tho they were driven from their Homes, beat in the Fields, their Towns and Castles garrison'd by the Enemy, and themselves obliged to find Protection amongst the Woods, Mountains, and Moss-haggs, exposed to the Severities of the Weather in the hardest Seasons, and often destitute of the Necessaries of Life, and, when they fell in their Enemies Hands imprisoned and often put to ignominious Deaths as Rebels and Traitors: Yet all this, nor the continual Run of Success that attended their Enemies for so many Years was able to discourage them from persevering in their Duty; but with an undaunted Spirit they asserted their Liberty with wonderful Constancy, till Heaven rewarded them with the Fruits of their Labours, by restoring their Freedom and the Independency of their Government.

HERE was Virtue not to be parallel'd. What Favours could any State grant that these Worthies might not have claimed as their Right? Yet so high a Value was put upon this elevated Degree of Nobility flowing from the Crown, that during *Bruce's* Reign, there was but † one advanced to it. And so high an Opinion was conceived of the Merit of those Families who had attained that Dignity in former Reigns, that the Earls of *Fife* and *March*, the two greatest Families that had joined the *English* Interest, were restored; as thinking it a Hardship that the Demerit of one Man should

† *Thomas Randolph* Earl of *Murray*.

should deprive his Posterity of the Advantages had been acquired by the successive Merit of so many of their Ancestors. Most of those Heroes, who from the Beginning of the Troubles, had in Spite of all Discouragement appeared to assert their Country's Liberty, gloriously perished in that Cause, before they were ended; but left behind them Issue worthy of such Parents, who following their Example, with inimitable Fortitude finished the glorious Course their Fathers had begun.

IN the succeeding Reign of *David Bruce*, their Virtue had a further Trial. The incredible Success of *Edward Baliol*, who like a resistless Torrent over-ran the Country, and reduced it to almost as great Hardships as it had suffered from *Edward I.* yet could not move the invincible Resolution of these hereditary Heroes; nor was the Enemy joined by one *Scots* Man; the base and ungrateful Earl of *Fife* excepted; but all with uncommon Fortitude bore their Misfortunes, and with a Resolution and Obstinacy peculiar to themselves encountered these seemingly insuperable Difficulties, till they restored Peace to their Country, and Liberty and Independency to their Posterity. Yet there was but one of these Worthies advanced to the Dignity of Earl in this Reign, and so high a Value was then put upon it, that the Branches of the Royal Family excepted, there was but * one other advanced to it before the Reign of King *James II.* who made several Creations, tho not vested with the same Powers as those

* There were some Confirmations of new Families to old Dignities; as the *E. Douglass's* Son, of a first Marriage by the Heiress of *Mar*, (there being no Male Heirs that claimed it) was confirmed in that Dignity; and his first Son of the third Marriage by the Heiress of *Angus*, was confirmed in the Earldom of *Angus* in the same Manner; which Confirmations run in these Words, *Dedisse & confirmasse*: But these neither took the Name of the former Earls, nor properly represented them, but were rank'd in their Precedency from their own Accession, and Date of the new *Dedimus*.

those formerly, who had this additional Privilege of the *quatuor puncta corona*. Now that those who are Strangers to the *Scots* History and Constitution may form the better Judgment of the high Value was formerly put on this Dignity, and of the Means by which it was acquired, I shall give a short Account of the Merit and Circumstance of these two Families who attained it at a Time when of all the Persons who had so well deserved of their Country on the Occasions just mentioned, only they were accounted worthy of this highest Pitch of Honour. The first was the Earl of *Douglas* created by *David Bruce*, who besides the ordinary Powers attending this first Degree of Nobility, was vested with that of first Peer and all the Privileges belonging to it, which had been formerly in the Family of the Earl of *Fife* then extinct. The Power and Merit of this Family is so conspicuous and universally known, and a particular History writ of it, that it would be superfluous to enter into any further Account of it here. The other Family advanced to it was the Lord *Lindesay* of *Crawfurd* and *Glenesk* who was made Earl of *Crawfurd* by *Robert II.* The Merit and Power of this Family, justly considered, was not much inferior to the other. *Alexander* Lord *Lindesay*, who was married to the King's Sister, and created Earl of *Crawfurd*, was in Right of his Mother possessor of the Lordship of *Glenesk*, which comprehended the greatest Part of *Angus*, and Part of *Perthshire*; and in Right of his Grandfather, was not only possessor of *Crawfurd* and its Appanages (the paternal Estate of the Family) but was likewise supreme Lord of the Countries of *Badenoch*, *Lochaber*, and *Strathdon*, formerly in the Possession of the great *John Cumming* of *Badenoch*. This was the Extent of his Power, these his Circumstances, very unlike those of the modern Peers. As to the high Qualities whereby they were acquired

red, this *Alexander* is himself represented as a Person of extraordinary Endowments: He was the Son of *David* Lord *Lindesay* of *Glenesk*, by *Catherine Stirling* Heiress of it; *David* was a Person of singular Valour and Integrity, and was, with most of his Followers, slain at the Battle of *Duplin*, disputing his Country's Rights; and the Year following his elder Brother *James* Lord of *Crawfurd*, and his younger Brother *William* Lord *Lindesay* of *Byres* (from whom the Family bearing his Name so famous in the *Scots* History is descended) were both slain in the same Cause at *Halidonhill*. *James* left behind him one Son *David*, who dying without Heirs, was succeeded, as observed, by the first Earl. These three great Men were the Sons of the famous *James* Lord *Lindesay* of *Crawfurd*, who was one of the first of those generous Spirits that refused to sign that inglorious Submission to *Edward I.* so many of the *Scots* Nobility complied with. He disinterestedly resolved to serve his Country, first under the matchless *Wallace*, tho a Person of inferior Quality, hazarded his own Life, and those of his Followers, with every Thing that was dear to them, in the charming Cause of Liberty; and tho afterwards exposed to the numberless Hardships before mentioned, yet could never be reduced to submit to a Foreign Tyranny. He, with the Lord *Malcolm Fleming* of *Bigar* were the first who met King *Robert I.* in *Annandale*, and dispatch'd the treacherous *Cummings*; and notwithstanding the insuperable Difficulties they had to encounter, bravely persisted in the glorious Course they had begun. This *James* got a Gift of the intire Forfeiture of *John Cuming* of *Badenoch*, and was afterwards killed in a Battle at *Stirling*, before the End of the War: He was great Grandson to the Lord *Lindesay* of *Crawfurd*, who was one of the Hostages for King *William*. This Family, according to the Accounts they have preserved of their Origine, are

descended from one *Lindesay* properly so called, who in the Reign of *Kenneth II.* was remarkable for his extraordinary Abilities both of Mind and Body; and by his extensive Capacity for Counsel, as well as Action, acquired an universal Esteem, especially of the King, who out of a Regard for his great Services in the *Pictish* War, gave him a considerable Estate in that Country. This Family, after the Reign of *Malcolm Canmore*, when Surnames became hereditary, being then both numerous and powerful, and retaining a vast Regard for the Memory of this one of their Ancestors, took on them his Name, as the universal Mark and hereditary Surname of the whole Family.

Thus amongst the *Scots*, as well as other virtuous Nations, we see real Merit was the only Way to claim the Government's Favours; nor was the State ever extravagant that Way, but rewarded every one in Proportion to his Worth. This highest Honour was not to be acquired by the Services of one or two; but Families, who had risen by Degrees, whose Enemies by Time and a long Succession of Merit, and Increase of Power, being worn out, were beyond the Reach of Emulation or Envy, and whose remarkable Services in several Ages had acquired the universal Esteem of the Nation. These were admitted to this Dignity, as only qualified for the Enjoyment of it. Nor was the State disappointed of the great Hopes, were justly conceived of the Posterity of these Nobles: For on every Occasion where the Country's Interest required the Subjects to risque their Ease, Blood and Lives for its Service, we find these Families, rather like the same Person than a Race of Men, exerting themselves with the same Vigour and inseparable Attachment for the Rights of the Society. This Earl *Alexander* happening to live at a Time when the Peace of his Country was luckily undisturb'd, was thereby deprived of Opportunities to exercise his Valour

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in its Defence. His Son *David* the second Earl, during his Stay at *London*, negotiating the Relief of King *James I.* acted by that generous Magnanimity peculiar to his Family, and incapable of Fear where his Country's Honour was concerned, frankly accepted of the Challenge given to the *Scots* Nobility then at *London* by the Lord *Wales*. This Hero had been famous all over *Europe* for his warlike Exploits in single Fight, and imagined he would make an easy Conquest of the *Scot*, but was disappointed to his great Confusion; for the Earl with great Dexterity avoiding his Thrust, by his extraordinary Vigour and Strength of Body drove him out of the Saddle, while he sat so firm himself, that the Spectators cry'd, *The Scot was lock'd in the Saddle*; which the Earl hearing as he ended his Career, dismounted, and tho' completely armed, mounted again without Assistance, to the great Amazement of all who were present. This Earl was the chief Instrument in preserving his Country from the Miseries the Earl of *Athole* intended to have brought upon it; for he no sooner heard of the King's Murder, than he with all his Power invaded *Athole*, and thereby disappointed the black Designs of the treacherous Earl: And on every other such Opportunity, the Behaviour of this Family of *Crawford*, and the other of *Byres* was much the same; their steady Adherence to the Interest of their King and Country was remarkable on every Occasion that required their Service, as in the Rebellion against *James III.* at *Bannockburn*, the Battle of *Flowdon*, civil Wars at the Reformation, and in the Reign of *Charles I.* &c.

FROM the short Account of this Family of *Lindesay*, the Dignity of the *Scots* Peerage may be easily judged of, since none were before the Union of the Crowns admitted to it by other Means than those formerly mentioned. How highly they valued their Privileges themselves, and how sensible

they were that the Admission of any one to that Dignity by other Ways than by the same strict Paths of Vertue whereby their Fathers had attained it, would abuse and render it contemptible, we learn from their Conduct in the Reign of *James III.* The easy Temper of that Prince expos'd him to Flattery, and the Nobility finding he allowed himself to be manag'd by a few worthless Favourites of mean Extraction, left the Court; but when they heard that one *Cochran*, his chief Favourite, who had been a Mason, was to be created Earl of *Mar*, their Jealousy exceeding all Bounds, increas'd their Resentment to an unjustifiable Height: For having met at *Lawder*, forgetting all Duty to their Sovereign, they violently seized the Court Parasites, and hanged them as Traitors to their Country, except one *Ramsay*, whom they saved out of a Regard to the King's Desire, and that himself was a Gentleman born. Nor can the Dignity of the *Scots* Peerage be said to have been lessened before the Union of the Crowns: For the Crown was not only carefull that it was conferred on none but Families of considerable Power and Reputation acquired by Degrees, whose Ancestors had on many Occasions remarkably distinguish'd themselves for the Interest of their Country; but also that its Credit might not be impaired by increasing the Number of Peers, there were rarely any Creations, but when there happened Extinctions, which before the modern Way of Entailing Dignities to Families were pretty frequent. Our Neighbour Nation, ignorant of *Scots* Affairs, give this Reason for the Antiquity of our Nobility, *Which, say they, consists only in Name, since their Families may be often changed, and while the Stranger, who inherits the Dignity in Right of a Female takes (according to the Entail) the Name of the former Family, the World cannot be able thereby to distinguish whether the Male Line hath failed or not.* For their Information, it may not be

be thought impertinent to convince such, that this Custom amongst the *Scots* is new, and never prevailed amongst Families of Antiquity. The Truth of this might be made appear from many Facts, whereof I shall only adduce one pregnant Instance. *Archbald* Earl of *Douglas* and *Angus* died in the Reign of *James VI.* without Heirs of his own Body; and the King as nearest Heir, according to the Female Succession, claimed the Estate and Dignity in Right of his Grandmother Lady *Margaret Douglas*, only Daughter of ~~Cheeping~~ *Archbald*, by Queen *Margaret*. But Sir *William Douglas* of *Glenberry*, who, tho' a remoter Relation by several Degrees, as being descended of Sir *William* slain at *Flowdon*, second Son of *Archbald Bell the Cat*, yet as Heir Male asserted his Right according to the Constitution and fix'd Rules of succeeding to Dignities. The Trial came in before the Fifteen Judges of the Session, and tho' the Court used all its Art to influence the Judges, yet the uncorrupt Bench determined, according to the Constitution and known Rules of Succession in such Cases, in Favours of the Heir Male. Several Instances might be given of this kind, if the Length of this Paper would allow it; but this may serve to satisfy the World, that the Male Issue of many old Families hath never yet failed. As to those that have, and those that have not, I refer the Reader to the List of the ancient Peerage hereto subjoined. But to return, it has been observed that *Peerage* has been the earliest and usefullest Part of Government, and that as these hereditary Dignities can only subsist in civil Government, the Design of them in all free States and Ages has been, and now palpably is to serve as Checks upon the Regal Power, in case of a corrupt Administration. It has been likewise observed, that the ancient *Scots* Peers were naturally vested with sufficient Powers to qualify them for such a Trust, which they accordingly exercised on many such Occasions; and since these

Dignities

Dignities have been derived from the Crown, the only Access to them was by real Merit and Power acquired by Degrees in the Manner formerly mentioned; and that this Dignity was never abused before the Union of the Crowns, either by admitting any one to it by other Means than those taken notice of, or by increasing the Number of Peers beyond its due Bounds. But in the succeeding Reigns it has been abused probably both Ways, since the Complaints of that kind seem at last to determine the Legislature, not only to put a Stop to this Practice for the future, but even to reduce those already made to a competent Number, for supporting the Credit of this high Dignity; and to make the high Trust and Power to be reposed in these few hereditary, and intirely free and independent, that the Ends before observed, for which *Peerage* is intended, may be thereby better answered. What Persons (or rather Families since this Trust is to be hereditary) are most proper to be intrusted with these Dignities whereon the Happiness or Misery of the united Nation in so great a Measure depends, is no difficult Matter for any disinterested Person to determine. It has been already observed, and Persons acquainted with History will upon the least View be convinced from Experience, how little new Men are to be intrusted with Power. Such Men, Seekers of themselves, and led by their Ambition, having neither Friend nor Relation that can be injured with severe Measures, cannot be expected to serve their Country further than is consistent with their own Interest. The Conduct of the *Athenian Pisistratus*, the *Roman Marius*, the *Italian Castruccio Castracani*, and many others of that Country, the *Scots Maitland* of *Lidingtoun*, and the *English Cromwel*, is a sufficient Demonstration of this Truth. These were Men of extraordinary Capacities: Had they likewise been Men of Vertue and Integrity, of how great Use might their

their high Qualities have been to the several Societies they lived in? But Ambition directing their Actions, they made it their Business first to divide their Country into Factions, and siding with that one that was most likely to prevail, they got no sooner at the Head of it, than they turned that Power that was intended for the Preservation of their Country's Liberties, to enslave it; and tho' the Jealousy the *Scots* Peers in that virtuous Age conceived of Upstarts stopt the Career of *Maitland*, yet the great Dexterity he shewed in embroiling his Country, and artfully shifting Sides, sufficiently demonstrate his Abilities were no ways inferior to those successful Tyrants of other Nations. But Men of noble Extraction have otherwise behaved: For these having a generous Education suitable to their Birth; the virtuous Example of so many of their Forefathers to imitate, who on every Occasion disinterestedly exerted themselves for their Country's Welfare; their numerous Relations, who must be sensibly affected with every Hardship that (contrary to the known Rules of the Society) may be imposed on it by a weak or wicked Administration, are Ties that keep these Men to their Duty, whose Qualities are as certainly employed in doing of Good and serving the Publick, as those of new Men are in the Service of their ambitious Projects. As *Plutarch* in his Life of *Brutus* says, *Brutus was like Cæsar inclined to Arts and Arms, and tho' inferior to Cæsar in the Exercise of both, yet in this he excelled him, that he never read but with a Design to subdue his Passions, nor drew his Sword but to serve his Country, whereas Cæsar made both subservient to his Ambition.* The generous Spirit of *Brutus*, proposing the glorious Conduct of his virtuous Ancestors for his Imitation, had so just a Sense of Liberty and Vertue, that he deem'd it infinitely more honourable to be one of the glorious Instruments of delivering his Country from Oppression, than like

Cæsar

Cæsar, to become absolute Master of it. And so great an Esteem have virtuous Nations ever had for such Families that have on trying Occasions been of so great real Use to them, that one of such Patriots hath put a greater Stop to the Success of a Tyrant than the whole Half of a Nation. *Cæsar* was more afraid of the incorruptible Virtue of *Cato* than of the whole debauched State: Nor was it the personal Worth of *Cato* so much as the Reputation of his Family, who had on no Occasion deserted their Country's Interest; as *Lucan* in *Cæsar's* Speech on the *Rubicon*, endeavouring to justify to his corrupted Army his lawless Conduct, notwithstanding the Opposition of *Cato*, calls them *nomina vana Catones*. It was the Example of his virtuous Predecessors taught *Cato* never to submit to Usurpation or Tyranny, and to prefer Death to an inglorious Submission. The same may be observed amongst People of inferior Rank. How many Examples have we from the Histories of all Nations, of mean Men of no worth, insinuating themselves upon a Court when the Ministry happens to be corrupt, and offering themselves to be the hated Tools of any Party, for executing the most unjustifiable Projects, if they can thereby raise themselves, and increase their Wealth, tho' it were to ruin their Country, while Men of honourable Birth refuse and disdain such Employments? And how many worthless Creatures of no Spirit, who have amassed Money by indirect Ways, have been observed to employ it in purchasing of Honours and Offices, which they on every Occasion prostitute to ruin their Country; which indeed cannot be said to be properly theirs, since while it subsisted by the Practice of Virtue, they could not have been other than the Scum of the People? But Men of honourable Families have ever suffered with their Country. These preferring virtuous Innocence, tho' never so much discouraged, to the gaudy Temptations of a corrupt Court,
are

are perswaded that *

*When Vice prevails and impious Men bear Sway,
The Post of Honour is a private Station.*

the Prosperity of the Wicked will never be regarded by such Men as the real Favours of Heaven, or perswade them that Things are altered by Success, and that their Duty ought to be deserted, because persevering in it becomes inconvenient. No, Men of real Worth, acted by right Principles, can adhere to a good Cause in the worst of Times, and, like *Cato*, rather than submit, choose to perish with the dying Liberties of their Country. That the real *Scots* Peers (by whom I mean those who have acquired their Nobility by the honourable Means I have mentioned) may be justly regarded as Families of real Merit, worthy of so high a Trust, their Conduct on many Occasions sufficiently demonstrates. How often do we find them with a laudable Unanimity assembled for the Defence of their Country? One Instance whereof, amongst many others, was the fatal Battle of *Flowdon*. How few Names, contained in the List hereunto annexed, are not likewise to be found amongst the Slain at that Action? But a recent and more pregnant Instance of this is observable from their Conduct in the Reign of *Charles I.* The Court Measures in the Beginning of that Reign were jealous by most honest Men, and opposed by the Nobility, *which*, as the wisest Statesmen observe, *might have produced good Effects, had there been no Faction at the Bottom of it.* But the Complaints of *England* no sooner discovered themselves to be the Cries of a pernicious Faction striking at the Monarchy, and designing to overturn the happy Constitution, under which themselves and Fore-fathers had lived so happily for so many Ages, than they adhered to the inseparable Interests of their King and Country

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* Addison's *Cato*.

Country with the utmost Fidelity. They not only, as their Fathers had done on such Occasions, risked their own Lives and those of their Followers; but the Management of Wars now requiring a Force regularly appointed and paid, many of them turned their Estates into Money to be employed that Way, while many of the Court Favourites, who had express so much Zeal for the King's Interest while Things went well with him, and by those indirect Ways, unlike the former Manner of acquiring Nobility, had been advanced to the Dignity of Peerage, no sooner found his Affairs going wrong than they tacked about: But most of the ancient Nobility steadily persisting in their Duty, were ruined with their King and Country.

FROM what has been said it will scarce bear a Dispute, what Families best deserve these hereditary Dignities: Or, Whether this high Trust, that so much regards the Interest of Society, will not be safer in the Hands of the ancient Nobility, who have come by their Peerage honourably; or in the Hands of those Families of later Creations, who may have attained it otherwise. Whether are Families, who by gradual Rises have acquired Power and Reputation, and after a long Succession of Merit have been created Peers, and on the same Occasions that rais'd them, disinterestedly risked the Loss of all, and actually suffered with their Country; I say, whether are these the proper Objects to be intrusted as Guardians of the People's Liberties? Or are Families, who zealously set themselves up for justifying Court-Measures, while themselves are screened by its Power, and their Estates increased by its Influence, perhaps at the Expence of the Publick; but when its Affairs go wrong, led by the same Self-Interestedness, desert its Interest, and rather than risque the Loss of what they may have unlawfully purchast, join the prevailing Enemies of their King and Country, Are these, I say, proper Objects to be intrusted with Power? I lodge
this

this Conduct upon none ; but such there may be, and our Histories are open. But Men who have least Pretensions to Dignities, often struggle hardest for them, and tho the Plea of the new Peers will not bear Reasoning, yet it may admit of cavilling. Nor do I incline to lessen the Merit of new Peers, since it can so ill allow of it, but wou'd rather show it in its most advantageous Appearance; and even then I am affraid it will scarce bear a Comparison with that of the ancient Peers ; tho it must be own'd some of the new Nobility may have attained their Peerage honourably. And had the present Government, as well as the Kings before the Union of the Crowns, but agreed in their Sentiments with the late Reigns, those Families, and many others not yet nobilitate, might not only have sooner arrived at this Dignity, but also at this Time been free from Apprehensions of losing it. These new Men conscious of the Weakness of their Pretensions, yet eagerly intent on being *British* Peers, imagining thereby to raise their Families much above their Superiors at an easy Rate, plead not their own Merit, but endeavour to lessen that of the old Nobility, against whom they bring many Objections: As, That altho their Predecessors may have well deserved of the State, in exposing themselves for its Interest, and are themselves Men of the same Spirit and Capacity ; yet now that the Constitution is much changed, and that War is managed by regular Mercenaries at the Publick Expence, these Qualities are useless, and a Speech in Parliament is of more Consequence than the winning a Battle. There's a good deal of Truth in this, and yet I cannot see the vast Disproportion I have observed betwixt the Merit of the ancient and late Nobility is thereby lessened: For 'tis scarce to be imagined that a Man who for his Country hazards his Person in the Field without other By-views or Reward, than being usefull to Society, will with less Warmth adhere to its Interest in a Senate. If these new Gentlemen

plead greater Sufficiency that Way, I must own they cannot be answered without making Comparisons that may not perhaps be so agreeable. But as Eloquence, Address, and Ability for Counsel are rather hurtful than of any Use to one's Country, if they are not attended with the more valuable Qualities of Integrity, Fortitude and Constancy, as *Agessilaus* well observed, *That Courage was a hateful Vice, if otherwise employed than in the Service of Justice*: So these Gentlemen cannot modestly plead the former Qualities, until they have had Opportunities likewise to convince the World they are also possessors of the later. A Court never wants Friends, whilst its Affairs go right; but Adversity proves Men of Worth: And I believe the World are agreed, that Men subject to Change are not to be intrusted with Power, nor those who desert their Country's Interests in Time of Danger, proper Objects to be intrusted as Guardians of its Liberties. It has been already observed, how well the ancient Nobility have on many Occasions discharged that high Trust, and how conspicuously Integrity appears to have been the peculiar Virtue of most of those Families. But the great and main Objection against them is, that many of the new Families are possessors of opulent Estates, (however acquired no Matter) and that many of the old Families are decayed and low in their Circumstances. This may have some Influence upon mean and depraved People, who mistake Circumstances for Things, but can have no Weight with Men of Virtue and Understanding: As the judicious *Sallust* justly ascribes the Roman Greatness to the Virtue of a few Citizens, by whose Discipline and Probity of Manners, handfuls often foiled numerous Armies, and Poverty got the better of Riches, &c. But Merit was no sooner disappointed, and Men valued in Proportion to their Circumstances, than that State became a Prey first to its own Arms, and afterwards to every Invader. But if it be made appear, what
has

has been already said in Favour of the old Nobility, viz. That the State on every Occasion rewarded their Services in Proportion to their Deserts, that they acquired by Degrees Wealth, Power and Dignities, that they ever with their Persons frankly risked these Acquisitions, when the Service of their Country required it, and that their Estates have been actually impaired the same Way they were acquired, i. e. serving their King and Country; this Objection turns to be the strongest Argument can be brought for them. For what Men is a Society to intrust with the Direction of its Affairs, and Power to protect them; but those who on every Occasion are ready to sacrifice it to their Interest, and never use that Power for other Ends than those for which it was intended? The Troubles of King *Charles I.* were a severe Trial: I have already taken Notice of the Conduct of the Nobility on that Occasion; and those of the old Nobility who are low in their Circumstances, upon just Inquiry will be found to have owed it to their disinterested Behaviour at that Time. Now if the Crown since the Restoration has been less grateful in rewarding Men of Worth and Integrity than formerly, and neglected the Services of those Men who sold their Estates to raise Men for the Service of their King and Country, is this a Reason why they should be now deprived of their Dignities also? Or is it not rather a just Debt upon the Government, and a convincing Proof that these are the only Men fit to be intrusted with Power and so high a Trust, who have so candidly exercised it for those Ends for which it was intended?

HAVING thus far cleared the Circumstances of the *Scots* Nobility, and sufficiently vindicated the Dignity of the ancient Peerage, I shall now for informing our Neighbour Nation, as well as those of our own, who, since this elevated Dignity has been abused in the Manner I have mentioned, and now so much complained of by the House of Peers, have

have not thought the Affairs of the Nobility worth their Knowledge, conclude this Discourse with a List of the ancient Peers, as they are ranked by the Lords Commissioners appointed by James VI. Anno 1606, that they may distinguish the real from the nominal Nobility; those, who besides their honourable Acquisition of that Dignity, were likewise vested with proper Powers for exercising that high Trust, from those who are only distinguished from their Fellows by Name, Preference and hereditary Votes in a Parliament. And since the present happy Constitution we live under seems so sensible of this Abuse as inconvenient for Society, that it intends to reduce their Number; from its former Conduct we may easily judge there's neither Faction nor By-view in this, but that it is purely intended to advance the Interests of Society, that the Constitution may thereby become the more perfect, and its several Parts less liable to Corruption. It may therefore be easily conjectured who are to be the *British* Peers; for besides the material Difference betwixt the Merit of the ancient and late Peers, that so justly prefers the former to this high Trust, there's nothing more gratefull to the People, or more conducive to secure their Affections, than the Advancement of old Families to Honours and Dignities: As *Thomaso Soderini*, an eminent Citizen of *Florence*, justly observed. This *Soderini* was remarkable for his great Wisdom and Probity, and tho' no Friend to the *Medici*, yet on the Death of *Piero*, finding many new Men taking the Advantage of the Youth of his Sons to raise themselves, and perceiving how hurtfull it was like to prove to his Country; he convened the Senate and most considerable Citizens, and recommended to them the two young Gentlemen, telling his Country-men, *If they intended to live quiet at Home, and preserve their Reputation Abroad, they must confer the same Honours and Powers upon Lorenzo and Guilianno di Medici, that had been formerly in the Persons of their Father Piero, and Grandfather Cosmo; for this Reason, That People are always pleased to see Men of old Families advanced to Power and Dignity, whose Enemies Time hath worn out, and the conspicuous Merit of whose Ancestors seems to render them worthy of high Trust; but that new and sudden Promotions are ever attended with Envy and Emulation, and too often produce bad Effects.*



LIST

Scottish Peerage vindicated.

31

LIST of the Scottish Peers, as they are ranked by the Lords Commissioners appointed for that Purpose by His Majesty King James VI. according to their Decree pronounced at Edinburgh 3th March 1606.

DUKE of

Earl by Ja. III. *Stewart, Lenox, Duke, Ja. VI. Extinct.*

MARQUESSSES.

Earl by Ja. III. *Hamilton, Hamilton, Marquess by Ja. VI. now Duke, Male Issue interrupted by Douglas.*

Earl by Ja. II. *Gordon, Huntley, Marquess by Ja. VI. now Duke.*

EARLS.

Da. II. *Douglas, Douglas, now Duke.*

Ja. II. *Campbell, Argyle, now Duke.*

Ro. II. *Lindesay, Crawford.*

Ja. II. { *Hay, Erroll.*

Ja. II. { *Keith, Marischall.*

Ja. II. { ** Gordon, now Sutherland; Sutherland;*

Q. Mary. *Areskine, Marr.*

Ja. II. { *Lesly, Rothes, Male Line interrupted by Hamilton E. Hading-*

Ja. II. { *Douglas, Morton. (toun.*

Ja. IV. *Montgomery, Eglintoun, Male Issue interrupted by the Lord Seton, E. Winton.*

Ja. IV. *Graham, Montrose, now Duke.*

Ja. IV. *Kennedy, Cassils.*

Ja. II. *Sinclair, Caithness.*

Ja. III. *Cunningham, Glencairn.*

Ja. VI. *Areskine, Buchan.*

Ja. V. *Stewart, Murray, Male Issue interrupted by Stewart L. Down.*

Ja. VI. *Stewart, Orkney, Extinct.*

Ja. II. *Stewart, Athole, Extinct, represented by Murray of Tullibardin, now Duke.*

Ja. VI. *Livingston, Linlithgow.*

Ja. VI. *Home, Home.*

Ja. VI. *Drummond, Perth.*

Ja. VI. *Seton, Winton.*

Ja. VI. *Seton, Dunfermling.*

Ja. VI. *Home, Dumbar.*

LORDS.

Ja. I. *Lindesay, Lindesay, now Earl of Crawford and Lindesay.*

Ja. I.

* *Sutherland, one of Malcolm Canmore's Earls, but the Line being interrupted, was conferred on Gordon, Earl, by James V.*

- 3a. I. Forbes, Forbes.
 3a. I. Lyon, Glamis, now Earl of Strathmore;
 3a. I. Fleming, Fleming, now Earl of Wigton.
 3a. II. Abernethy, Salton, now Fraser.
 3a. II. Gray, Gray.
 3a. II. Stewart, Ochiltrie.
 3a. II. Cathcart, Cathcart.
 3a. III. Douglas, Carlisle and Torthorill, Extinct.
 3a. III. Crichton, Sanguhar, now Earl of Dumfriesshire.
 3a. II. Hay, Yester, now Marquess of Tweeddale.
 3a. IV. Semple, Semple.
 3a. IV. Sinclair, Sinclair.
 3a. IV. Harris, Harris, Extinct, represented by Earl of Nithisdale.
 3a. IV. Elphinston, Elphinston.
 3a. II. Maxwell, Maxwell, now Earl of Nithisdale.
 3a. III. Oliphant, Oliphant.
 3a. II. Fraser, Lovat.
 3a. IV. Ogilvy, Ogilvy, now Earl of Airlie.
 Borthwick, Borthwick, Extinct.
 3a. IV. Ross, Ross.
 3a. II. Boyd, Boyd, now Earl of Kilmarnock.
 Abbots created Lords, { Sandilands, Torphichen.
 { Hamilton, Pasley, now Earl of Abercorn.
 3a. VI. { Ker, Newbottle, now Marquess of Lothian.
 3a. II. Haliburton, Thirlstane, Extinct.
 3a. VI. Lindesay, Spinx, Extinct.
 3a. VI. Ker, Roxburgh, now Duke.
 3a. VI. Lesly, Lindores.
 3a. VI. Campbell, Lowdoun, now Earl.
 3a. VI. Dirleton and Kinloss, both Extinct.
 3a. VI. Elphinston, Balmerinock.
 3a. VI. Murray, Tullibardin, now Duke of Athole.
 3a. VI. Colvil, Colvil.
 3a. VI. Murray, Scoon, now Viscount of Stormont.



To the above List we have added on the Margin the Names of the Kings by whom these Peers were first created, according to Mr. George Crawford in his *Peerage of Scotland*. But how it comes to pass that those of a later, are ranked before those of an older Creation, it is not easy at this Distance to determine. All that we can suppose in the Matter is, that either the Male Line of some of them having been interrupted, their Precedency is dated from that Interruption; or that they have then wanted sufficient Documents of their Antiquity, which have since that Time come to Light; or that they have neglected to produce them: Which might the more readily happen, because in the Decree of Ranking there was still an Opportunity left such of them as might think themselves prejudiced thereby, to redress themselves in common form before the Lords of Session.